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cano." He spends most of his day in the saddle, riding from one point of operation to another; going to the sugar mill to straighten out this or that matter, such as the nonappearance of railroad cars at the plantation loading point; caring for the troubles of the workers; and looking to his own interests.

Below these two figures of authority is a salaried man who stands only slightly apart from the bulk of the workers, the foreman (feitor), Asclepiades. It is his duty to keep track of how much work is done each day and by whom. He walks about the plantation, from field to field, measuring with the six-foot stick he carries and marking down in his notebook the amount of work done by each man. The plantation laborers are paid according to how much each of them weeded, or planted, or to how many tons of cane each cut or conducted to the factory. Asclepiades writes it down in his little black book, and it appears on the daily work sheet which in turn is transferred to the fortnightly payroll. During harvest time the records of who was the driver and who the guide, of how much sugar cane was cut and by whom, are kept at each end of the plantation where the carts must pass to be weighed before the cane is transferred to the factory. It is Seu Paulo's duty every morning to assign tasks to the workmen, while Asclepiades keeps track of how much is done but does not see that it gets done, for this is the duty of the overseer. The foreman is paid a monthly salary of one thousand cruzeiros, and although he does not occupy the position of prestige which the overseer has there is always the chance that he may become an overseer either on that plantation or on another.

There is one other salaried person on the plantation--the cowboy (vaqueiro) João who receives four hundred cruzeiros a month, plus room and board. João takes care of the cattle, milk cows, and saddle horses. He must also inspect the fences constantly and report any breaks, and whenever possible retrieve animals which have broken out of the pasture and wandered into the cane fields, where they cause great damage. As a rule the pastures are fenced, as are new cane plantations, but the established cane fields are left unguarded. Fences do not last more than one season, for the posts rot because of the wet soil, and the barbed wire rusts quickly. João is also the constant companion of the plantation owner when she is present, accompanying her or her children or guests on pleasure rides, meeting the train or boat with horses for guests or business acquaintances, and getting the mail from the post office in

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*249 463 [578] [466] the town of Vila Recôncavo. João lives in the owner's house, enjoying her confidence to a greater degree than anyone else except perhaps the overseer. This is frequently the cause of friction between the cowboy and overseer, and this fact is not helped by the fact that João is an inlander (sertanejo), a true cowboy, taciturn and independent, from the cattle country to the north of Recôncavo. When Dona Sinhá is away, he occupies a different position, subject to the orders of Seu Paulo unless Dona Sinhá has left definite instructions for him. When Dona Sinhá is present he receives orders directly from her, bypassing the overseer. João is in a position to check on much of the plantation activity, bringing to the owner's attention any necessary works forgotten by Seu Paulo.

*249 46 162 Below the owner, overseer, foreman, and cowboy are the bulk of the resident workmen (moradores). On the Fazenda das Moças, there is a population of slightly over two hundred men, women, and children, providing a working force of between sixty and seventy men and boys, plus a few women who occasionally do light work in the fields.

*249 46 • 465 Below is an extract from one of the fortnightly pay sheets of the plantation. A brief explanation of the list, beginning at the top, will give a good idea of at least a part of the work on a plantation in this community. The "second weeding of a cane field" indicates that the man worked in a field which had already been weeded once since planting. Depending upon the amount of sunshine and rain and the quality of the weeding done, a field may have to be weeded as many as seven times between harvests. A cane field (taboleiro) varies from ten to twenty tarefas, and each field is numbered. Seu Paulo can therefore assign a man to weed a certain field, and they will both know whether it is the first, second, third, or other weeding. The weedings become progressively more difficult so that the amount paid per unit increases with the number of weedings. Weeding constitutes one of the major expenditures on Fazenda das Mocas, as it is done slowly with a hoe. As with all other tasks on the plantation, there is a set price for this work.

"Carrying seed" indicates the transference of bundles of tops of sugar-cane stalks from a field where they are cut to another where they are planted. The amount paid per trip increases with the distance the man must travel between fields. As a rule, several fields of cane are planted to be used exclusively for seed. The next item on the list, "cutting seed,"

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Ricardo Teixeira	2nd weeding of cane field	13 1/2	braças*	at	Cr$ 3,50	Cr$ 47,25
Julio Bispo	digging drainage ditch	30	meters	at	1,50	45,00
Paulo Manoel	carrying seed	12	trips	at	0,80	9,60
José Santo	cutting seed	5	loads	at	0,80	4,00
S. Santo	cutting out cattle	1	day	at	15,00	15,00
Malaquias Ario	trip to neighboring plantation	1	trip	at	10,00	10,00
Mario Adriano	3rd weeding of cane field	249	braças	at	3,70	921,30
F. Cramosa	planting	3 1/2	braças	at	2,20	7,70
Cecilio Argolo	replanting	65	braças	at	1,50	97,50
Paulo Manoel	carpentering	3	days	at	23,00	69,00
Sancho Santiago	repairing estiva	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Paulo Souza	1st weeding of cane field	35	braças	at	3,20	112,00
Agostinho Batista	catching escaped cattle	2		at	10,00	20,00
Mario Serra	repairing fences	250	braças	at	0,15	37,50
Maria das Dores	gathering cane leaves for animal fodder	4	cartloads	at	2,00	8,00
Francisco Julião	loading railway wagon with sugar cane	1/2	day	at	7,50	7,50
Pedro Julio	cutting bamboo	12	mãos†	at	5,00	60,00
Francisco Brito	conducting load of wood	1	load	at	15,00	15,00
Crispim Argolo	repairing barracks	2 1/2	days	at	12,00	30,00
Domingos Moura	gardening	12	days	at	10,00	120,00
Osorio Ancieto	burying a burro	1	day	at	12,00	12,00
Pedro Julio	carrying water	1	day	at	10,00	10,00

*The braça equals 6 feet and is the measurement always used locally in the cane fields.
†Mão is a bundle of fifty and is used locally in speaking of fence posts and ears of corn.

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•465 indicates work done in these fields. The top of the stalk just below the leaves is used as seed.

"Cutting out cattle" refers to selecting cattle from the herd to be used for the day's transportation. The "trip to neighboring plantation" means that Malaquias was sent to another plantation on an errand either for Dona Sinhá or for Seu Paulo on some plantation business, such as to get the payroll sheets, which are made up by a resident of another plantation. "Planting" means the first planting of sugar cane, while "replanting" means planting cane in the spaces where the first seed did not grow, either because it was buried too deeply, or because after planting it received too much sunshine or too much rain. Such spaces are always filled in when the new cane reaches a height of several inches.

[463] "Carpentering," a craft, commands a higher salary than agricultural work. Sometimes a plantation keeps a carpenter on a regular salary; at other times he is hired from the factory, as is the case here. His work may be on the wooden carts used for transportation or on any of the many houses of the plantation.

[491] An estiva is a type of makeshift bridge crossing a drainage ditch or a low spot on the road where water collects during the rainy season. It is usually no more than four or five yards long and a yard or two wide. The lengthwise pieces are bamboo with other pieces of the same material laid across them close together. Then earth is placed on top and smoothed off. These bridges require constant repair work. During the height of the rainy season they often break up entirely and float away. They are often quite perilous for horses, burros, and oxen, whose legs sometimes go through the bamboo latticework.

[233] "Catching escaped cattle" requires some agility on the part of the person who does it. It is usually done on foot, and if the ox or cow is in a cane field it must be worked out carefully in order not to destroy too much of the standing sugar cane. "Repairing fences" accompanies catching escaped cattle, for the animals often break through the fences enclosing their pastures. The fence posts are usually of bamboo, which rots quickly and must be constantly watched and replaced as it shows signs of weakening. "Cutting bamboo" is done for many [824] different ends. Most plantation boundary lines are marked by rows of graceful bamboos whose wood is used for fence posts and estivas, as well as for the wicker framework of the mud-covered houses.

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Maria das Dores, whose name is listed as "gathering cane leaves for animal fodder," does the only type of work on the plantation done by women other than housework and gardening. When a field of cane is cut, the tops of the stalks and the long leaves are cut off and left on the ground. The very tip of the stalk is used as seed, while the heavier part is loaded on carts and sent to the factory. When natural pasturage gives out because of overgrazing or drought, the cattle's diet is supplemented with the freshly cut, green cane leaves; if the tender tips are not required for seed, they are also fed to the cattle. Gathering the leaves and stalk tips is relatively light work, and if a woman on the plantation wants to supplement her husband's income this is the task assigned her. Few women on this plantation do it, however, for it is a point of pride with any husband that he is capable of supporting his wife without her having to do gainful work. Only a small number of leaves are gathered up, and the remainder are burned as they lie in the field. Burning is done at night when there is little or no wind, and often during the summer fires which extend for acres dot the countryside. Burning is a traditional practice. Although professional agronomists insist that it is injurious to the cane roots and the new shoots, planters continue to burn the unwanted leaves, feeling that the ash provides some fertilization.

"Gardening" refers to work done in the vegetable garden which supplies Dona Sinhá's house. This garden stands in contrast to the roças, which are planted by the workers as well as by Dona Sinhá, and which are reserved for beans, manioc, corn, and some tobacco. Such plants as lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables are disdained by the workers and are grown only for Dona Sinhá.

"Carrying water" is usually work reserved for a small boy. Mounted on a donkey with four wooden kegs he rides to the neighboring plantation, Pedras, which belongs to the factory, fills the kegs at the spring, and returns to Fazenda das Moças where he puts the water into the various large clay containers in the kitchen and washrooms of the owner's house. "Oh, Pedro, there's no water" is a common cry heard in Dona Sinhá's house.

There are few rules restricting the workers. Their services must be at the disposal of Dona Sinhá whenever required. Other than that, if during a slack season a man finds an opportunity to work somewhere else, he is free to do so. If he has a burro, or oxen, he has the right to pasture them on the

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lands of the plantation, renting them to Dona Sinhá at harvest time for transport. Often a family has one or two pack horses or burros which can be used to transport cane or, at other times of the year, water or firewood. A worker also has the right to a plot to raise food crops. If the man in the household dies or deserts his family, the woman who is left can do one of several things: go to work in the field herself, the least popular alternative; send her children out to work if they are old enough; find another husband, which is not too difficult, for there is a scarcity of women in this rural zone; or return to her father's house.

A group of workers who are essential to the well-being of the plantation, but who are not residents, are the caatinguejros (migrant workers from the scrubby forest area which borders on the Recôncavo and extends into the desert to the north). Hundreds of these men are available during the harvest season, a time when not only the plantations but the factories as well need more men than the resident population provides. The town of Vila Recôncavo, the other small rural towns, and the capital city do not supply agricultural workers to the rural areas. The plantations use instead the migrants from the north. A system has grown up whereby each plantation and factory has a man who can contact these migrant laborers. This man is called the empreiteiro, a contractor who has a system of contacts in the north usually through family and godparent relationships. The migrant workers are housed in the barracks, and generally keep themselves well apart from the residents. Only men come, leaving their families at home to care for their small farms and livestock while they earn money in the Recôncavo. None of these men appears on the plantation payroll. It is the empreiteiro who contracts with the overseer to have the required work done by the migrant laborers. Usually this work consists only of weeding, which must be done constantly but which at harvest time the resident workers cannot do. On the list of jobs and wages, above, there appears the name of Mario Adriano, who received 921,30 cruzeiros for weeding 249 braças. This man is the empreiteiro, who is paid for work done by fifteen, twenty, or more men. He in turn pays the migrant laborers, giving them less than the price for which he agreed with the overseer to do the work. In this way the contractor earns a living. Throughout the harvest season he gets work for about seventy-five to one hundred migrants, who camp in and about the barracks and

have little to do with the residents. At the end of the season they can be seen walking along the paths of the Recôncavo toward the north, each man carrying over his shoulder a stick from which is suspended a cloth bundle containing his few possessions. 249* 464

One prominent aspect of the relationships between people in this hierarchy is the intimacy and familiarity which has for so long characterized the Recôncavo. While slavery was not a benign institution anywhere, there was a softness in the relations between the Brazilian and his slaves which seems to have been absent in other slave areas. This quality persists today on private plantations such as Fazenda das Moças between the owner and the workers. Dona Sinhá knows the residents by name or nickname, knows their background and present condition; the worker knows Dona Sinhá's family background, her children, and her extended family. 249* 466 571 [567]

The former master is now the patron. It is she who arbitrates any differences between workers, or between a worker and Seu Paulo. It is her task to protect the worker against injustices, to provide medical care, to aid at weddings and baptisms, in short to do all the things the worker is unable to do through ignorance, fear, or poverty.

The relationship between Dona Sinhá and Seu Paulo is a curious one, for neither one of them can do without the other. The role of overseer came into being for several reasons, the primary one being the absenteeism of the owner. In order to keep the plantation running properly all year long it was necessary for someone with knowledge and authority to be present all the time; so the former feitor-mor became known as the overseer, with a house larger and better than that of anyone else on the plantation except the owner. As time went on, the overseer gathered more and more rights and privileges unto himself, until today he is the veritable owner of the plantation in all but the legal sense. He has the confidence and loyalty of the workmen, without which he would be a failure. He eventually becomes related to nearly all of them through the system of godparentship; in fact, he is more sought after than the owner for this purpose. On the Fazenda das Moças, the overseer is paid a higher salary than any other overseer in the area--as much as Cr$1.500,00 a month in comparison with Cr$1.000,00 or less for the others. In addition he receives a bonus at the end of the year, one cruzeiro for each ton of sugar cane the plantation produced during the year. 249* 463 466 571 [608] [465].

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seer is entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other worker: a house, land on which to grow subsistence crops, and the use of the owner's pastures for his oxen, burros, and horses. The horses used in his work are supplied by the corporation, as are those of the other overseers. His salary is high: Cr$2.000,00 a month, plus a bonus of one cruzeiro for each ton of cane produced on all six plantations. The regional overseers receive Cr$800,00 a month, plus a bonus of half a cruzeiro per ton of cane produced on their plantation. Seu Pipiu has been general overseer of Usina São Pedro for twenty-five years, during which time he has accumulated a good deal of property. He is a mulatto, somewhat lighter skinned than the six administrators who are under him. Two of his sons work in the factory office, and a third runs the store on one of the plantations. In addition he is a small farmer, renting some forty acres from the factory, on which he plants sugar cane. He pays 25 per cent of the harvest to the factory for the use of the land.

The usineiros have the same complaints against their general overseers that private plantation owners have against theirs. At the same time, after many years of service such an official becomes indispensable, or is thought to be, and is allowed to go his way--quiet, well dressed, well mounted, ruler of all he surveys--while the usineiro watches and mutters to himself.

So far the rural properties of the factories have led the private plantations in the field of mechanization, as they have greater funds for purchasing equipment and can get more use out of each piece. Mechanization, however, is used as yet only in preparing the soil for planting. The ground is plowed and replowed, and grooves are made to receive the cane shoots. Also, planting in unplowed land is still common--grooves are opened for the seed with the simple plow, and no soil preparation is done at all. Here mechanization ends, and all further cultivation, as well as the cutting and harvesting of the cane, is done by hand. Narrow-gauge railway tracks reach out from the mill to loading points on the six plantations, where the cane is transferred from the oxcarts to the railroad wagons to be drawn to the mill. Approximately two thousand acres are under cultivation; the remaining land is used as pasture or as garden plots by the workers, in accordance with a rotation system.

Financially the two units--factory and plantation--are run

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[435] costs about Cr$240,00 to make and lasts as long as ten years with good care.

227 The drag net, or deep net, as it is sometimes called, is a much larger net used to catch shrimp. It is 360 feet long, 168 feet wide, and has 420 feet of rope on one end and 480 [435] feet on the other. The top is equipped with wooden floats, and the bottom with lead weights. Such a net costs about [422] Cr$4.000,00 and is expensive to keep up, for it is easily torn [441] on submerged objects because of its size and weight. There are only six of them in the town; most of them belong to the merchants, who are the only ones who can afford the upkeep.

226 Fishing with this net is very complicated and requires the [461] services of at least ten men and two canoes, one large and one small. The owner seldom goes fishing. Instead, a master (mestre) is in charge of the operation, and the others in the crew are called "boys" (mocos). One of these is the baixador whose work is done standing in the water. His is an unpleasant job, and he runs the constant risk of being bitten by crabs, stung by large jellyfish, and cut by sharp shells on the bottom. The net is used only at the shrimp grounds already described, where the circular casting net is used, in front of the town. This net must also be used when the tide is at a standstill, because the current makes the heavy net unmanageable. The net is carried on the larger canoe which is paddled by six men, while four go in the smaller one. The canoes pause when they arrive at the customary point for launching the net, and almost everyone lights up a cigarette. There is usually some discussion among the fishermen in the various canoes as to who will launch his net first, but as a rule not more than four of the six nets are used on the same day. Since all four must be launched at exactly the same spot, there is an accepted order of first, second, third, and fourth. First yesterday is last today, each moving up one place each day. But if a crew is late in arriving the others will not wait very long, for the time for net work is short. Seldom do the four crews launch their nets more than twice in one morning. The last launching is called the "hard hard" (duradura), indicating the small returns obtained for such hard work. The first net to be launched usually catches the most shrimp.

[435] On a good day it is not unusual for the first crew to take in Cr$1.000,00 to Cr$2.000,00 worth of shrimp, especially if it [465] made two launchings. The method of paying the crew varies, but as a rule the owner takes between 40 and 50 per cent,

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the remainder being divided among the crew, the master and baixador receiving slightly more than the moços. Most fishermen dislike fishing with the drag net for several reasons: although the catch is usually large, it must be divided among many men; there really should be thirteen men to handle the net, which limits the amount each receives, and when only ten participate, the work is much greater for each although the increase in pay is slight; also, the operation is a rather boring process involving long waiting periods. It is becoming more and more difficult to get a crew together.

The resse, used to catch xangó, and the abaladeira, used to catch other small fish such as sardings and tainha, present a different operation. The resse is a net of close weave, 660 feet long and 12 feet wide. Like the deep net, it has wooden floats on the top and lead weights on the bottom. A small canoe (18 to 20 feet) is used, and only two men are necessary. This net can be used with either the incoming or the outgoing tide, and at any place. The fishermen have certain favorite sand and shell banks where they like to fish, east of town. They launch the net when they see the schools of small fish breaking water. The resse is a recent innovation in Vila Recôncavo, where it was first used with great secrecy to prevent knowledge of its weave from falling into the hands of too many people. But now most fishermen in this part of the Bay of All Saints are acquainted with it, and the entire county lists twenty-five resse nets.

A second innovation with this net, and one which applies also to the abaladeira, is the cooperative launching of two nets at once in order to catch more fish. Two canoes participate, each with two men and a net. An exceptional catch for a six-hour period of fishing may run as high as Cr$600,00 and usually averages between Cr$300,00 and Cr$400,00. When two canoes fish together the total catch is divided equally between the two. The resse and abaladeira fishermen estimate that they can earn an average of Cr$15,00 every day of the year. This is considered relatively good, for they do not fish constantly. After a few profitable days they are inclined to give up for a period of time, resting and enjoying themselves.

The calão is another large net requiring at least six men to manipulate it, working from the canoe and from the water as with the deep net. It is used to catch fish of all sizes except the very small xangó and shrimp. The net is 780 feet

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192 santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem san-
[787] to) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

794 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults,
787 cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to
776 "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expendi-
[511] ture. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer.

794 The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have
533 danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which is presented to the drummers for having played so well for
[465] them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives partici-
[776] pate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money. The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon, and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily, without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city, receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

466 On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
472 São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll, and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact. In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in Salvador.

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planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

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The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Some masters preferred to have their slaves, on the payment of a small sum, punished by the civil authorities.[31] Gardner remarked that "many of the crimes for which only a few lashes are awarded, are of such a nature that in England would bring upon the perpetrator either death or transportation."[32]

It was customary each week to grant slaves, in addition to their regular food, an allowance of tobacco.[33] On the large estates certain hospital facilities,[34] and nurseries for Negro children were maintained.[35] Accounts of white mistresses who themselves attended to the sick among their slaves are numerous.[36] The *amas* (nurses) were often "emancipated as soon as their work was over, and nearly always continued to live in freedom under the same roof with their masters and to have various privileges."[37] "The aged Negroes were only employed in light occupations; during the remainder of their time they chatted with the master's young children, telling

[31] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Prince Adalbert, *Travels of Prince Adalbert of Prussia*, trans. from *Aus meinem Tagebuche, 1842–1843* (Berlin, 1847), by Robert H. Schomburgk and John Edward Taylor (2 vols.; London, 1849), II, 37. Prince Adalbert noted on the coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo, that "every evening, when their work is done, the slaves light fires in the rooms set apart for them, around which they sit for hours, even after the severest day's work, all talking and smoking, women as well as men."

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 36. "In the hospital, the hall and rooms for the two sexes were separated. A Negro woman was lying on a mat, with her little 'negrinho' at her breast, to which she had given birth only the night before. 'In a few days she will be able to resume work,' said the Doctor to Count Bismarck. In the men's room, there were four or five patients, suffering from accidents of various kinds" (coffee plantation Aldea, near Novo Friburgo).

[35] C. C. Andrews, *Brazil, Its Condition and Prospects* (2d ed.; New York, 1889), p. 164.

[36] Note, e.g., Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[37] Lacerda, *op. cit.*, p. 379.